

NORTON
Instructions to the Lord Mayor of London.

DA 683 N6



INSTRUCTIONS

TO THE

LORD MAYOR OF LONDON, 1574-5:

Whereby he is to govern himself and the City.

By THOMAS NORTON,

REMBRANCER, AND ONE OF THE MEMBERS IN PARLIAMENT FOR LONDON.

Together with a Letter from him to Sir Francis Walfingham, respecting the disorderly dealings of Promoters.

From the original Manuscripts, formerly the property of Sir Christopher Hatton.

LONDON.
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An Exhortation or Rule wherbie the L. Maior of London is to order him selfe and the Citty.

THER be manye reasons, which I ought not to doubte. that yowe do dailie call to mynde the waight of your chardge in the office of the L. Maior of London. Yowe are to remember howe great a thinge is the L. Maior, and of London fo great a citie, the imperiall Chamber of fo great a Prince, of our Soveraigne Ladie, the ymediate leeftenaunte of the moste great and mightie God. Yowe are to thincke what truste her Majestie and her Progenitors have, and repose, in the corporate and politique bodie of her Citie of London, as to committ to our felves the naminge and choife of her deputed Chiefe Magistrate here, and of our owne governour. And howe upon hir Highenes pleafure well knowen, yowe have bene in one and honorable fourme receaved and allowed, and your care and fidelitie is from and for her Majestie committed to the kepinge of the place, the prefervation of the estate, and the governmente of her people of London, a moste deere pretious jewell of the Crowne of England. Yowe are to have in mynde what strengthe of the Prince vs here kepte for her fervyce, and for the realmes defence, what pollitie, what wealthe, what order to be mainteined for her use and honour for the common good, what multitudes of subjectes, aswell inhabitinge as repairinge, are to be provided for: yowe are not to forgett what care her Majestie and her counfell have now shewed them selves to have, that



London be in the charged of a truftie man, and what perticuler proceedinges have brought yowe and lefte yowe in your good acceptation and confidence, for which yowe are highelie to thanke God and his ministers: yowe must therof gather what necessitie is laied unto you to answer good expectation. And there with all your wakefulnes muste needes be a little increased by remembraunce whome yowe fucceede, I meane a predecessor who enteringe with fome hardnes of time, both for feafon and matter, hath yet by Gods bleffinge and his good diligence, departed to the good contentation of her Majestie, as by her pleasure declared to yowe bothe at the Barr of the honorable Court of Exchequer hathe appeared, and to the good likinge of the people, speciallie the poore, whose often causes and dailie needes aske most helpe. And moste thankfull voices have commended hym to God, and testified him to men. If yowe finde his verie good doinges, yowe shall finde the more hardnes to matche and followe them: yf yowe finde flacke doinges, yowe shall finde the more hardnes to supplie and amend them.

My Lorde, theis thinges are all fpoken to this ende; to shewe your difficulties and to sharpen your care. Nowe, fir, to your comforte, that yowe maie with the bolder courage not fainte under your charge, althoughe your selfer remember them well ynoughe, yet give me leave, I praye yowe of your good will, to put yowe in mynde of suche thinges as owight to raise yowe to cherefulnes, and to a gladsome and hopefull proceedings with your heavie, but yet noble burthen. God is your gratious God and true, and that will not faile to performe his promises of affist-aunce and blessinges to those that sincerlie indevour them-

felves to their best to serve hym in their chardge, that humblie crave his aide, and assuredlie trust in his goodnes.

Our Soveraigne Ladie whome yowe shall serve is the moste noblie natured Prince in the worlde; and their with bothe so wise, as she wolde not have so farr trusted yowe yf she had not bene resolved well to truste yowe, and so gratious, as she will well allowe of all true, plaine and honest meanynge as in all your predecessors, and most expresselie in your woorshipfull Brother and frend Sr. Alexander Avenon, hathe appeared; and above other thinges her Highnes is so tenderlie mynded to her Citie of London as the well guidinge theros cannot but be in her consideration a most allowed and pleasaunte service.

Her most honorable Counsaile, as yowr selfe hath seene by dailie proofe, not onelie have been continuall intercessors and meanes, by their good and loving reportes, for her Majesties good and savowrable inclination towardes London, but also you knowe they have beene continuall advisors in dowbtes and ordinary releevers of your burthen by their counsailes and directions, and speciallie readie helpers with their aucthoritie to supplie throughe oute the realme and else where such matters as beinge needefull for London, yowe be usuallie dryven to sue for, as thinges that by your selves, withoute their helpps, cannot be attained.

Your felfe is bleffed of God with fufficiencie for that experience which the honor of the place requirethe; by reason whereof yowe are not subject to suche neede as might make a manne apt to corruption, or to contempt: yowe bringe, I doubte not, an upright mynde to serve God and the Oueene sincerelie: yowe have bene noted a man

of good charitable disposition, and a tender hart to your poore: yowe are not yonge; yow have not lyved obfcurelie; you have had long experience, and bene in place of knowledge, and of bothe politique and judiciall understanding: yowe are joined with a sufficient nombre of wife and grave brethren and commons, beinge companions of a great parte of your chardge; fome of them have passed the waie before yowe, and the rest have saied the passage of others, and alltogither shall sit with yowe, shall advise yowe, shall strengthen yowe, shall ease your travells, shall fupplie your lackes, shall defend your doinges, shall to yow, with yow and for yow, gyve, establishe and maintaine direction, power, and countenaunce. Some of them have alreadie gyven yowe a good taste of their care for yowe, their good will to yowe, and their readines to travell with yowe, and have made it stande upon their owne worshipp and credit to affifte yowe.—Yowe have last a predecessor that hath bothe troden yow the waie by example, and fo donne as fome fruite, I hope, yow shall finde of his and former provisions, and at his removinge to yelde the cure unto yow. Yowe knowe what goodnes of love and concorde he promifed yowe.

Yowe have a Recorder learned and painefull, and to her Majesties service dutifullie, to the Citic saithefullie, and to your selfe lovinglie affected: the comforte of seing you do well shall joie hym more then all the travells that yowe shall put hym to in advisinge yowe, or in labouring for yowe shall troble hym: besides this pryvate dealinge for you, knowne to yowr selfe and some others, yowe cannot but remember howe lardgelie and howe fraunklie, and for what great thinges, and in what presence at the Exchequer

barr, in the rule and politique fight of our Soveraigne Ladie, and in the reall and actuall hearing of her most honorable counfaile, he undertoke in his owne perfonne, and published that the Citie of London which choose yowe, undertakethe for yowe that yowe shall performe the office of a good Maior of London, bothe in advauncinge of godlie religion and fidelitie to her Maiestie and in good governaunce of her people, and that in all theis, befides your own industrie, yee woolde proceede by good and loiall counfaile. This was a liberall and thancke worthie affumption, and fuche as yowe maje be fuer, for his owne creditts fake will enforce hym in all diligence, that yowe maie well and worshipfullie dischardge hym. Yowe have a painefull, carefull, and zealous Chamberlaine: yowe have an olde, diligent, experienced Common Sergeant: vowe have a readie and hable Towneclerke: yowe have a wife and well esteemed Solicitour: yowe have other Counfaillours, Clerkes, and Mynisters in matters of justice, equitie, and fervice, to informe yowe and intende yowe, in whome I thincke shalbe found no lacke.

Yowe have the generall forme of the fetled and true pollitie of the Citie of London fo distributed and marshalled in ordre by the wysdome of oure forefathers as, lyke a heavye burthen parted and laied upon manie shoulders, or lyke a great woorke forted into manie handes, the officers of wardes, parishes, and precincts, the companies with their Masters, Wardenns, and Governors, moste prudentlie assigned to everie woorcke and place, togither with the orderlie formes, times, limitations, and circumstances, delivered by knowen and usuall presidentes, shall beare the waight with yowe, and make yowe to beare lighter.

And, fir, he canne be no good Citizen, muche leffe a good Brother of your Court, or a good officer, or partaker of your Counfailes, that shall for anie respect withdrawe his aid from you, or shall therein make anie unkinde accompte of your pryvate person, and not joine his beste indevour for the common good of London, yowr case is suche as all wise men see howe yow cannot take hurte or lacke alone.

Yowe have [in] the auntient and late booke of this Citie the doinges of your predecessors recorded, their stepps traced owte and fett before yow, fo as yowe shall have no cause of dispaire, but great cause of comfort and hope that yow shall passe your time with good dischardge of dutie, fatisfaction of conscience, over comming of expectations, and increase of worship. Amonge your other helpes, for my parte being thereto admonished by your requeaftes and your Bretherens, and, namely, by the good and wife motion of your woorshippfull and lovinge Brother, Sr. Roweland Hewarde, I have perused over the repertories of certen Maiors times; and, amongst the rest, I have gone throughe the bookes of his time: owte of those, for your eafe and remembraunce, I have gathered this treatife following, which I have forted into two partes; the one conteyninge certen thinges necessarie for your chardge that are not limited to any speciall time, but are suche as are not lyke a hande or foote or other instrumentall lymme placed in some certenn lymitte or parte of the bodie, but rather, lyke bloode, or fleshe are dispearsed throughe owte the whole; and therefore must, from your begynninge forwarde, be had in confideration and daile perufed, untill they be fullie performed or furnished. The other parte fettethe forthe certaine doinges that are lymited to ordinarie

or prescribed times, either by statutes of the realme, or upon paine, or by the special lawes and usages of London; and those be distincte into monethes accordinge to such times as they have bene donne heretosore.

Now, my L., when yowe finde by theis matters that I have laied before yowe two thinges, the one what necessities lye upon yow to make yowe diligent and carefull; the other what helpps yow have to make yowe cheerefull and hopefull; the thirde thinge restithe. I gyve yow my poore advise what course is to be taken, and what meanes are to be used that with yowr diligence and care necessities maye be answered, and with yowr cherefull courage, and the fruites of yowr hopefull servyce, yowr harte, beinge good and true, maie be comforted.

Sr., yow are firste to have care of God. It is he that ministreth and prosperouselie governethe all good meaninges: yt is he that guidethe all well doinges: it is he that gyvethe all good fuccesse: it is he that hathe in his hande the hartes, the favors, and disfavors of Kinges and Princes: yt is he to whose pleasinge, besides the respecte of fruite, all thinges and doinges are in mere dutie and conscience to be directed. Some particulars of your service to hym properlie are theis: that yow advaunce his religion, the true understandinge whereof he hathe revealed in his owne worde; and, thankes be to his grace, yt is with his worde publikelie and fincerely delivered by his moste excellent ministers, owr moste gratious Soveraigne Ladies aucthoritie, that yowe give good countenaunce to the fupportation of favour, helpp, and credit to the preachers that shall come warranted to distribute so great a benefitt, whereby the people of your charge shall learne the right

waie of honoringe God, falvation of their fowles, guidinge of their lyves, and yeeldinge of their obedience and duties. That yow do what in yow liethe to suppresse the boldnes and growing of daungerous fectes, and especiallie the herefie of Papistrie, which hathe, and is not onelie the damnable fubverter of fowles, but also the universall enemye and supplanter of all just crownes and kingedomes, and of all lawfull, civill, politics, states, and jurisdictions; and to this daie hathe donne, and at this daie dothe moste lamentablie and manifestlie shewe yt felse in imploying Christians against Christians in the fervyce of the Papacy to have bynne, and to be the verie meanes of betravinge Christians to the tyrannie of the Turke. Yowe must remember (as Augustus faied) the house of Cæsar muste be free, not onelie from cryme, but also from suspicion of crime; even so it behovethe that James Hawes, L. Maior of London, both for his name in personne, and place in office, be not onely cleere from infection, but also, in all reasonable understandinge, free from suspicion of favouringe the howse of Papistrie; which in deede cannot ftande neither with true Christian conscience, nor with true Englishe alleadgeaunce: He that will none evill do, must do nothinge that longeth thereto. The verie companie or contraction of futche (for it is a ghoftlie leprofie, and therefore infectious) muste be carefully shonned. When complaintes are brought againste them, they must be well examined and ponished, or referred here for us: the case standethe nowe that state is conjoined with civill treason; for, althoughe it may be true that some Papistes are not Traytours, because some men are feduced of fimplicitie or constrainte, yet it is also true that there is no Traitor to our Queene, but it is a Papiste,

yf he be of anie religion at all: for yow maie well knowe that no Christian (so call I a Gospellour) wilbe enimy to this estate. Yowe must thinke that yt mave happ yow to be tempted by fome persons or cases that maye come before yow, wherein there is reasonne for your good frindes to hope that no inclination to fo evill a fide shalbe seene in vow. Yowe must frequent publike hearinges of the worde of God, common prayer, and ofte receivinge of the Communion, and the same yf yt maye be with your bretherne. O! what a fweete thing it is to feede on Christ, and by feeding on hym to have hym so made one with us, as by good digeftion owr meate and drinke is made one with our fleashe and blood! What a thing is the Communyon and incorporatinge of Christ into yow to the strengtheninge of your owne conscience! What a thinge ys it to the unitinge of your bretherne the Aldermens harts to joine with vowe, to affifte yowe, and to quenche all ftormes that maye fever the knot of your concord and godlie confederacy together! The Oueenes Majesties most honorable Counsellors, to the notable example of all godlie rulers, use yt monethlie, the firste Sondaie of every monethe.

You muste, next God, have a care to serve her Majestie and content her. Remember that London ys the Queenes [Chambre], that owr Queene hath committed London to you, and to London yt selfe: when I name London, I name no small thinge: so great confidence askethe great correspondence: thus great truste beside the charge, and beside the paine of not well answeringe, dothe increase the burthen with the verie dutie of thanckfulnes and kindnes to so good a Prince, that lovethe so well, and trustethe so muche. For discharge hereof in governaunce herken ever

upwarde, and take your light from above: there is no candle comparable to the Sonne. What directions to me from her Majestie or the Counsell, their intent must be noted, that their satisfaction maye be procured: their wordes muste be well wayghed that their commission be not exceeded, the meaninge not mysunderstood, the purpose not failed: diligence must be used that there be no lacke of retorne of answere.

Yowe muste retaine a mynde to doe right to everie perfonne; heare bothe fides, that you maie understande aright. Remembre that yowe are by expresse mention sworne to defende the wyddowes and orphanes: your Courtes are called the Courtes of Orphanes: yowe knowe howe acceptable their causes are to God; what a noble flower in the garlande of London is the custodie of orphanes and their portions; howe Citizens children be thereby provided for, and many good young occupiers be releeved and advaunced. Yowe fee what long attendaunce manie verie good Citizens be dryven to fuffre before they canne be let in, whereby, besides the hardnes of the bondes, may growe discouragement to the better sorte to become recognitours. Wherefore you shall do well, whatsoever causes you have, being not speciall servyce of her Majestie, to take ordre that, at fome convenient time of every Court, Orphanes matters be harde, and not delaied. And she gave me leave to faie a little in a great matter that shalbe to your consforte and honor: yt shall comforte vowr conscience hereafter, your childrens children shall feele the fruite of yt hereafter, yf that yowe wilbe a meane that, as childrens portions be well looked unto, fo their personnes hereaster maye be better cared for. Yow fee the dailie stealinge,

fellinge and inveiglinge of them at tender yeares by rascalls, and men of the worste forte bothe for value and honestie, to the slaunder of good governaunce, and to the great griefe of worshipfull and honest parentes, and to the utter dissolvinge to the chaste, vertuous and severe bringinge up of yowthe in awe of aucthoritie. Let no such offence be lightlie dispensed with: yf anie of your bretherne shalbe a meane for easie pardonne in suche cases, let hym be put in mynde of his oathe, and ymagine the case to be of his owne childe, for generall sathers be you all in offyce. It ys good cheape yf the price of stealinge an Aldermans or Citizens childe be but xijd. in the pounde: so, manie times xxs. is a great rewarde for hym for whome a Rape is to old lyttle: children be deere possessions.

Good my Lorde, in the reverent respect of God, her Majestie and this Citie, to whome yowe are bounde by oathe, with renouncing of Gods helpe yf yow faile, and for the peril to be avoided, and for the fruite to enfue to your owne posteritie, be severe in this case: preserve the same of your aucthoritie that, besides all other inconveniences, the Cities custodie and government of the bodies of Orphanes become not faleable by lewde practizes, grevous to good Citizens and flaunderous to the worlde. And though the matches be otherwife good and convenable ynowghe, yet thinges wolde have ordre, parentes wolde not have griefe, and the mutuall provision for the Orphanes wolde not by prevention be destitute of the frendes foresight. Evell examples abounde in this behalfe of late, and especiallie since a father of the Court joyned with a forren jurisdiction against the Court in the defence of a stolen covennte.

Yowe muste be carefull for provision of victuall, fewell,

and all thinges necessarie; and that of all thinges there be true and holsome stuffe, good assize, juste weight and measure, and prices reasonable: wherein your best pollities shalbe by encouragement to permit, and by good foresight not to let slipp the best times of providinge or bringinge.

Amonge all your cares do justice with discretion, execute lawes uprightlie and kepe order: have ever still a pitifull eve to the poore, and whenfoever you fee the poore, cravinge, needinge, yowe aide them in anie thing, favinge to do wronge. Ymagine that yowe fee Christe begginge in the poore bodies personns. To this good affection yow have bynne ever thought well disposed, and therefore I make fewe wordes abowte yt, onely for your owne foules fake I wolde admonishe that yow doe almes as dutie, and not accompt them as meritt: the one is acceptable to humilitie, the other is arrogant in superstition. In the generall course of governynge the Citie, of ministring justice, of endinge causes, of considering suites, of ponishing saultes, of distributinge offices, and chardges of makinge or executinge lawes or commaundementes, and also in particular performinge of thinges enjoyned from above, and generallie in all thinges when the fecret commaunde doth permitte yowe, yt is good that all be donne with your Brethernes advice and affent: yf they devife the best waie, let them allowe vt: this waie vs furest for wysedome and strongest concorde: fuche warrant of agreement shall bothe direct yowe to do, and defende yowe when yowe have donne. Yowe shall finde great ease yf yowe wilbe a meane that in yowr Courtes and confultations be kept fage and comely ordre, fuche as besemeethe so grave personages, that men lovinglie and freelie delyver their opynions, that they be quietlie

and orderlie harde, that Counsell be secretelie kept, that confession be avoided, that constancie and silence be observed, that no man for affection contend to preserve any pryvate cause before dutie, justice, and the common good of the Citie; that there be no sodaine leapinge from one thinge to an other before the former matter be ended; for otherwyse yt loosethe time and labour, yt darkenethe understandinge, yt hinderethe expedition, yt wearyethe attendaunts, yt makethe in manie doinges nothinge to be donne, and it desames your good discretions.

Speciall orders wolde be obteined amonge yowe, that yowe that rule us all by aucthoritie may rule your felves by reason; wherin ys to be noted that the first begynnynge of good rule ys to rule your hartes, that they be sincere and uncorrupted, and according to the abundance thereof yowr mouthes shall speake. And suerly, sir, I have set in your presence and noted that which I have ells where seene in greatter places, the wifest man is the most yeldinge to an other better reason.

In counfell takeing yt shalbe good to use men accordinge to their skill. For lawe Mr. Recorder, and those whose profession it is are to be called and harkened unto: for matters of experience those that have longest knowen them: for matters of Arts those that be most skilfull in them; and, amonge all other, for orders and thinges before passed, the presidents of our fathers are to be used. In matters speciallie publique, let rashnes be avoided, and good time of consideration taken: in matters speciallie pryvate, you shall muche ease your selse, and best finde the best waye, and surest to do left wrong, by committing manie thinges to chosen men to examyne and reporte. And ever in ponish-

ments have your respect to tyme to come, for example, and not to time paste: for revenge, love those paines that will most enforce the parties to amend; that ys to ponishe the poore by money that careth lytle for shame, and the ryche manne by shame who is little resormed by a lyttle losse of money.

And one note out of place, that showld before have bene spoken: the presente time requirithe yowe to have good care and use good meanes towchinge the contagion of sickenes, that the sicke be kept from the whole, that the places of persons insected be made plaine to be knowen and the more releeved; that sweetenes and holsomnes of publique places be provided for; that unnecessarie and scarsie honeste resorts to plaies, to shewes to thoccasion of thronges and presse, except to the servyce of God; and especiallie the assemblies to the unchaste, shamelesse and unnatural tomblinge of the Italion Weomen maye be avoided: to offend God and honestie is not to cease a plague.

As towchinge the use of this booke, which is drawen owte of our presidentes, yt is thend to be ordered.

The generall thinges, not lymited to times, are from the begynnynge of yowr course dailie, or often, to be perused untill they be performed; and suche wherein, yf yow shall have once proceeded to effect, yt were good to note with a marke in the margin as thinges passed yf they require a contynuaunce, or a second, or after doinge or newinge, an other marke maye be added for remembraunce. So shall it ever fall readie to the eye, what ys donne, or what ys to be undone; for thinges that have their prescribed times, and so be set under the titles of everie severall monethe, yt is good dutic to reade over the thinges of the monethes

wherein you then be, still notinge in the margin what thinges are performed: yt is good also dailie to peruse over those monethes that are passed, to consider what thinges be left undonne in the former monethes, and remaine to be expedited in the time followinge, for lacke of leasure or oportunytie before. It is good also to reade over the monethes that shall next followe, to see yf anie thinge in the moneth followinge do require preparation or warnynge in the monethe presente.

It maye also be that, besides matters whereof be former prefidentes alreadie, fome newe thinges maie be decreed to be done hereafter. Those, when they be decreed, yt were good to enter into your booke under that monethe or time wherein they are to be donne, for which cause there ys voide paper left for every monethe. Yowe must not looke to finde a large discription howe and in whate forme every thinge ys to be donne that ys heare mentioned; for fo fhowlde the booke have bene to large for your use, and yet impossible to have the whole therein fullie conteyned: for besides the orders appearinge in your bookes, and knowne usages, the moste thinges for the manner are from time to time, as causes and circumstances shall fall owte to be directed by your brothers advises, which yt were not possible for me to fett downe aforehande. This booke holdethe onelie titlings of thinges to be donne, without tellinge howe to avoide forgettinge and negligence, and to escape the penalties of omittinge in due time.

It maye be also that in time to come the booke maye be made perfect, both with increase of matter and fuller pretensions of ordre; but this in the whole, I doubt not, will serve your torne to verie good purpose.

Nowe, lastlie, my L., yowe muste not forget that God is the gyver of all good thinges: yowe muste resorte to hym dailie by praier, and to pray with harte; not fuffred to fav over Our Father, but to weighe everie petition, and joine thereto a moste affectuous desire to obteine yt accordinge to his will. In that the Lordes praier, fo ofte as you faie yt, when yowe come to this place, our dailie bread, yowe must remember, that there ys not comprised bread onelie, but therein is ment all thinges that are necessarie for this prefent lyfe; and amonge other thinges his bleffinge, that yowe maie answere your charge in governaunce. And, according to that warrant of Christe who, in the generall worde bread, hath conteined the furtheraunce of vowr fucceffe in your dutie. I have drawen for yowe a shorte forme of speciall prayer applied to your office, which I have written before the notes of the booke yt felfe. I have not drawen yt as prescribinge yowe a patterne of wordes, but admonishing yowe of directing your affection as the spirit of God shall guide yowe. They be good partes, and good notes, of a perfect religion to stablishe devotion and charitie: yowe muste of devotion praye hartelie that yowe maye obteine effectuallie: vowe must of compassion do charitablie, that manie maye praye for and with yowe. I cowlde gladlie wyshe that some lyke forme of prayer might dailie be used in your Court and Counsell Chamber by yowe and all your bretherne before yow enter into causes. It is so used in the Parliament, and he praiethe to the [blank in MS.] that comethe to late to be presente; and, thoughe fuche use be but of late, I truste it shalbe contynued and growe to be olde; and, fuerlie, I fpeake yt of good harte to your felfe, I hertelie wyshe to yowe

the honor and bleffing to have it begonne in yower tyme.

Sir, I am bothe a Citizen and here brought upp: accordinge to my right, I have accepted my fredome, and bounde my felfe to this Citie by the oathe of a free manne. I have ferved, and do remaine at this presente, in truste and in chardge to ferve the Citie in Parliament: I have placed my dwelling here and do take my parte of the Cities good provision: I am the Cities officer and called to their Counfailles: I have the Cities fee, and owe myne attendaunce. Thus, manie thinges beside the love of my country and the speciall requeste made for this matter, and some perticular good will, which, I thinke you make accompte that I do beare yowe, have moved me not onelie to drawe thes bookes, but also to add theis devises. I praie yowe to take them in good parte, and therewith my readines to do the Citie and yowe in your place the best servyce I canne: and I shall count my labours best accepted, when I shall fee and be wytnes of your good endevours accordinglie: of the which, as of the doinges of a manne well and fincerely mynded, discreete, and conformable to all good advises for satisfaction of your duties to God and to her Majestie, and to the place that they have called yow, I do conceave hopefullie, and praye for yt hartilie.

T. NORTON



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